

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4121

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AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 12114

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB, GE, GW

SUBJECT: FRG URGES TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE ON FEA

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS STRONGLY URGED US TO JOIN IN A TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE TO THE RUSSIANS ON THE FEA. AFTER HEARING EMBASSY PRESENTATION OF CURRENT DEPARTMENT VIEWS, THE FOREIGN OFFICE REITERATED ITS PLEA FOR URGENT TRIPARTITE ACTION. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL ASKED AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND TO MEET WITH HIM WEDNESDAY MORNING. VAN WELL SAID THE FRG CABINET WAS THEN MEETING TO CONSIDER BERLIN DEVELOPMENTS. THE GOVERNMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN WOULD SHORTLY MADE A STATEMENT ACCUSING THE GDR OF VIOLATING THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT, AND MAKING THE POINT THAT CONTINUATION OF TRANSIT DIFFICULTIES WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE
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CREDIBILITY OF DETENTE. THE STATEMENT WOULD ALSO RECALL

THE POSITION TAKEN IN THE JUNE NATO MINISTERIAL IN OTTAWA THAT PROGRESS IN DETENTE IS LINKED WITH STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT. VAN WELL COMMENTED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER REGARDS THE TRANSIT DIFFICULTIES AS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER AND HAS SO STATED PUBLICLY.

2. VAN WELL SAID THE FRG WAS ANXIOUS THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD MAKE THEIR POSITION CLEAR AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE FRG APPRECIATED THE US BILATERAL APPROACH TO THE SOVIETS IN WASHINGTON. THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS DEMARCHE DID NOT, FROM THE US VIEWPOINT, EXCLUDE A TRIPARTITE APPROACH. THE STATEMENTS BY THE SOVIETS AND THE EAST GERMANS ON SUCH MATTERS AS THE ALLEGED NEED TO PROTECT GDR INTERESTS AND THE CLAIM THAT THE GDR HAD A ROLE IN ENSURING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT SHOULD NOT GO UNCONTESTED. THE TRIPARTITE STATEMENT ISSUED LAST WEEK WAS USEFUL, BUT NOW THERE WAS NEED FOR THE ALLIES TO GO ON RECORD AGAIN AFTER THERE HAD BEEN A CLEAR CASE OF REFUSAL OF TRANSIT TO AN FEA OFFICIAL. VAN WELL SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE BRITISH AND FRENCH WERE WILLING TO GO FORWARD WITH A DEMARCHE, BUT THE US WAS NOT YET READY.

3. VAN WELL SAID THE GERMANS HAD HEARD THROUGH THEIR WASHINGTON EMBASSY THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD BEEN ANNOYED BY BONN'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GROMYKO VISIT SCHEDULED FOR MID-AUGUST, FEELING, PERHAPS, THAT THE GERMANS WERE HOLDING BACK AS FAR AS A RESPONSE DIRECTLY TO THE EAST GERMANS WAS CONCERNED. VAN WELL RECALLED THAT THE GERMANS HAD WELCOMED THE US DECISION NOT TO ANNOUNCE THE AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE GDR AT LEAST UNTIL MONDAY PARTLY BECAUSE THE FRG COULD PUT OUT A STATEMENT ON THE GROMYKO VISIT AT THE SAME TIME. VAN WELL HAD ASKED GENSCHER IF THE FRG SHOULD POSTPONE THE GROMYKO VISIT ANNOUNCEMENT. IT HAD BEEN FELT THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE VISIT AND THE MATTER OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF US/GDR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WERE DISPARATE MATTERS AND THE DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN NOT TO ASK THE SOVIETS TO POSTPONE THE
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ANNOUNCEMENT. THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAD THEN IMMEDIATELY CALLED THE EMBASSY TO COMMUNICATE THIS DECISION. THE GERMANS WERE SORRY FOR ANY MISUNDERSTANDING THAT HAD ARISEN. THEY HOPED WE WOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP ASPECT BETWEEN GENSCHER AND GROMYKO MADE IT DIFFICULT TO POSTPONE THE VISIT ANNOUNCEMENT. THE GERMAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON WOULD BE RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS TO EXPLAIN WHAT HAD HAPPENED.

4. VAN WELL STRESSED THE VERY LIVELY INTEREST IN THE BERLIN SITUATION ON THE PART OF GERMAN POLITICIANS AND THE MEDIA. THERE WAS A GROWING FEELING OF FRUSTRATION OVER THE APPARENT LACK OF ACTION. IT IS TRUE THE FOUR POWERS WERE CONSULTING IN THE BONN GROUP AND THE FRG WAS ABLE TO STATE THAT IT WAS IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH THE THREE POWERS. THE PRESSURES GENERATED ON THE GOVERNMENT WERE CONSIDERABLE. THE GERMAN PUBLIC WAS EXPECTING SOME FURTHER ALLIED ACTION.

5. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND SAID THAT WE WOULD BE CIRCULATING A PROPOSED REVISION OF THE TEXT ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS FOR A POSSIBLE TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE, AND THE MATTER WOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF BONN GROUP DISCUSSION LATER IN THE DAY. THE DEPARTMENT HAD NOT, HOWEVER, AUTHORIZED THE USE OF THE TEXT FOR A DEMARCHE. WE WISHED TO AWAIT THE RESULTS OF OUR BILATERAL APPROACH TO THE RUSSIANS BEFORE TAKING A FINAL DECISION ON THE DEMARCHE. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED WHAT THE LATEST REPORTS FROM THE TRANSIT ROUTES WERE AND IF ANY FEA PERSONNEL WERE NOW TRAVELING. (THE GERMANS SAID THEY WOULD COMMENT ON THESE POINTS AS SOON AS THEY HAD INFORMATION.)

6. VAN WELL SAID THE FRG HAD CALLED FOR AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE TRANSIT COMMISSION FOR AUGUST 1. THERE WAS NO PRECEDENT FOR SUCH A MEETING, AND THE GDR MIGHT WELL STALL OR CLAIM THERE WAS NO REASON TO HOLD A MEETING. IF THE MEETING DID TAKE PLACE, IT MIGHT WELL BE INCONCLUSIVE. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION BY THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BONN 12114

AMBASSADOR, VAN WELL COMMENTED ON POSSIBLE SOVIET INTENTIONS IN THE CURRENT BERLIN SITUATION. THE GERMANS ASSUMED THE RUSSIANS WANTED TO AVOID A SERIOUS CONFRONTATION. THE RUSSIANS AND THE EAST GERMANS HAD ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS INDICATED THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT TAKE THE EASTERN RESPONSE TO THE FEA TOO SERIOUSLY. VAN WELL SAID HE WOULD BE SEEING THE SOVIET CHARGE IN THE AFTERNOON AND WOULD LET US KNOW IMMEDIATELY IF THE CONVERSATION SHED LIGHT ON EASTERN INTENTIONS. VAN WELL CONTINUED THAT IT COULD NOT BE EXCLUDED THAT THE RUSSIANS THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR THEM AT THIS STAGE TO STIFFEN THEIR POSITION ON BERLIN. THEY MIGHT FEEL THAT SUCH A POSTURE WOULD BE USEFUL IN GIVING AN IMAGE OF TOUGHNESS AS A TIME WHEN, FOR EXAMPLE, THEY HAD SUFFERED SOME LOSS OF REPUTATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT WAS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS WERE REALLY INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING THE WHOLE ISSUE OF FEDERAL
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PRESENCE WITH THE ALLIES. THIS WAS THE MAIN ON-GOING ISSUE IN BERLIN MATTERS AND A DIFFICULTY IN MANY RESPECTS, SUCH AS THE CONCLUSION OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS IN VARIOUS FIELDS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE USSR. VAN WELL THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE BONN GROUP TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR SUCH POSSIBLE CONSULTATION. THE DANGERS OF CONSULTATION WERE OBVIOUS. THEY COULD RESULT IN A STATUS QUO MINUS FROM A WESTERN POINT OF VIEW.

7. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT SO FAR AS FEDERAL PRESENCE WENT, TWO INCOMPATIBLE PRINCIPLES WERE INVOLVED, ONE CONCERNING THE LACK OF FRG GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY OVER THE WESTERN SECTORS, THE OTHER THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS' ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DEVELOPING EXISTING FRG/WSB TIES. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO SEE MUCH AGREEMENT EMERGING FROM QUADRIPARTITE DISCUSSION OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS. THAT WAS WHY WE HAD THOUGHT THERE

WAS LITTLE FOR US TO GAIN FROM SUCH CONSULTATIONS.

8. VAN WELL RAISED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT WANT TO MAINTAIN THE SO-CALLED "GRAY AREA" ON FEDERAL PRESENCE IN ORDER TO GIVE THEM FUTURE LEVERAGE IN BERLIN MATTERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE WOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY WERE INTERESTED IN CLARIFYING THE SITUATION SINCE BERLIN CONSTITUTED AN OBSTACLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-FRG TIES. THE SOVIETS HAD A VERY LIVELY INTEREST IN DEVELOPING THESE TIES ESPECIALLY IN FIELDS RELATED TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, VAN WELL RECALLED THE EFFORTS, WHICH HE THOUGHT WERE GENUINE, OF AMBASSADOR FALIN IN TRYING TO WORK OUT WITH GENSCHER A FORMULA TO GET OVER THE HUMP ON THE FRG/SOVIET SCIENTIFIC TECHNICAL AGREEMENT. FINALLY, VAN WELL SAID THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT WANTED TO GET BERLIN DIFFICULTIES OUT OF THE WAY BEFORE HIS OCTOBER VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION. IN THE GERMAN VIEW IT WAS NECESSARY TO ACT ON BERLIN MATTERS ON THE THREE ALLIES-SOVIET LEVEL AND NOT JUST BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND THE RUSSIANS BILATERALLY.

HILLENBRAND

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